

THE

# ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

## THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 11. No. 6.—New Series.]

JUNE 1, 1863.

(Price Fourpence Stamped.  
Threepence Unstamped.)

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### Monthly Summary.

**DOMESTIC.**—The Manchester Chamber of Commerce has memorialized Government to promote the growth of cotton in India by removing the several obstacles to enterprise which exist in that country. Much stress is laid upon the annulling, by Sir Charles Wood, of the minute issued by the late Lord Canning, permitting the sale of lands in fee simple, a measure which the memorialists consider of great importance. They next pray for the perpetual settlement of the demand of the State for the rent of land, and that holders of land may be allowed to redeem the land-tax; they likewise urge the enactment of laws providing for the registration and enforcement of contracts. The memorial is signed by Henry Ashworth, President, and is dated 28th April last.

The Committee of the *Emancipation Society* have adopted the following resolution on the subject of the election for Finsbury: "That this Committee respectfully submit to the citizens of London the duty of remembering in the choice of a new representative the position to be maintained by England with regard to the great American conflict; the infinite importance, in the interests of freedom and humanity, of preserving not only peace but cordial friendship between these two great families of the Anglo-Saxon race; the necessity of counteracting the injurious and degrading supposition that, in the capital of Great Britain, there is sympathy with a rebellion of slave-

holders rather than with the supporters of liberty, without distinction of colour; and especially the obligation of avoiding all suspicion of connivance on the part of the citizens of London with those nefarious enterprises of supplying ships of war to the Confederate States, which are not only a breach of English law and good faith, but are calculated to exasperate our brethren in the United States beyond endurance, and involve this country in all the horrors of that war which is now desolating America."

On Friday the 22nd ult., the Annual Meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society* was held in the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, G. W. Alexander, Esq., in the Chair. Particulars are given in another column.

**UNITED STATES.**—*The War.*—The army of the Potomac, under General Hooker, has again made a move in the direction of Richmond, but has failed to accomplish its purpose. General Hooker succeeded in crossing the Rappahannock, and in taking up a favourable position at Chancellorsville, some ten miles south-west of Fredericksburg. The army effected the passage in four bodies, and every reasonable precaution appears to have been taken to ensure success. The rebel forces, under Lee, Longstreet, and Stonewall Jackson, attacked the Federals *en masse* on Saturday the 2nd May, and the fight was continued on Sunday the 3rd and Monday the 4th. A corps of the Federal army under Sedgwick, assailed by overwhelming numbers, was finally compelled to retreat, and

the rebel generals were then enabled to mass their strength against Hooker and his subordinate, Brooks, at Fredericksburg. The carnage on both sides was horrible, both sides fighting with desperate courage and pertinacity. Monday night, however, found the rebel generals in possession of the most advantageous positions, and General Hooker, finding he would be unable to break through the opposing armies, resolved to secure the Rappahannock. This he did under cover of the night, and succeeded in regaining his former position, with the whole of the material and baggage of the army, but leaving on the fields of battle a number of men, killed and wounded, estimated at from ten thousand to twelve thousand. The loss of the rebels is acknowledged by General Lee to have greatly exceeded this number, an intercepted letter putting it at 18,000. General Stonewall Jackson was accidentally wounded in the fray, by two shots from his own men, and succumbed under surgical treatment. General Berry was killed on the Federal side.

It does not appear that the Confederate commanders were able to follow up their advantage, nor that General Hooker was in a position immediately to resume the offensive.

A Federal force of cavalry, under General Stoneman, had made a raid all round General Lee's army, ravaging the entire country between Lee and Richmond, going within three miles of the rebel capital, going down the Chickahominy, and coming out safely on the York River. The real object of this expedition was to endeavour to cut off General Lee's lines of communication with Richmond. One division, under General Avritt, pushed into Gordonsville, to the south-west, skirmished with the Confederates under General Fitzhugh Lee, and returned to the main body of the army. The second went to Louisa Court-house, an important railroad station north-west of Richmond, and tore up the track for a considerable distance; thence on to Frederick's Hall, twelve miles nearer Richmond, and to Blavor Dam, thirteen miles from Hanover Junction, where it destroyed bridges, pulled up the rails, and set fire to all the stores they could not carry away. A portion of this second detachment actually entered Richmond and took several horses, leaving their own jaded steeds in their place.

Another "raid" by Federal cavalry had been pushed into the heart of Secessia. A detachment under Colonel Straight, numbering 1600, reached Rome, Ga., after a most destructive expedition through Alabama and Georgia. Its progress was brought to a sudden close by its capture, General Forrest (Confederate) having closed upon it with a large force. Reports, since current,

allege that a large proportion escaped. The fact of the force having penetrated into the centre of Georgia is most important, for it seems to establish the easy vulnerability of the Confederate territory.

The Federal operations on the Mississippi appear to have resulted favourably. The Confederates were being gradually surrounded. General Grant had given battle, on the 1st of May, to 11,000 Confederates, four miles south of Fort Gibson, and routed them. The Confederates retreated towards Vicksburg, destroying the bridges on their way, but Grant, pursuing, repaired or restored them.

Admiral Porter has run the Vicksburg batteries from above during the night of the 16th April, with a portion of the re-inforcing corps for General Grant. General Banks was co-operating with the Admiral and General Grant. Admiral Farragut, who had been isolated, had received an accession of strength, and was preparing for immediate operations. The latest accounts represent General Banks as advancing victoriously up the Mississippi. General Grant had landed a large force below Vicksburg on the Mississippi shore, and General Sherman had land up the Yazoo River, where he made his last attack. It was expected that Generals Grant and Sherman would now make a combined attack on Vicksburg.

The Governor of New York had sent a message to the Legislature recommending it to pass an amendment to the Constitution, giving the Legislature power to pass a law to enable absent soldiers to vote, which, if concurred in by the next Legislature, could then be submitted to the vote of the people, and if their decision was favourable, the next Legislature could take the necessary action. He recommends this course in preference to the passage of an unconstitutional law, or one of questionable validity upon this subject. The mail bag of the *Peterhoff* had been delivered unopened to the British Consul by order of the District Court. The trial of the case has been postponed. The action of the British Government in the case of the steamer *Alexandra* had created a generally favourable impression here, and allayed much irritation.

Ten Federal negro regiments have been organized at Memphis, and ten more were in course of organization. A regiment consists of a thousand men, including officers.

The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, which adjourned to New York, was about to examine one witness whose testimony was expected to shed much light upon the practical questions before it. He is a Mr. Anderson, of Jamaica, a British merchant, who has resided there for the past thirty years, and who testifies in the most emphatic manner to the beneficial results of

emancipation. He says, if he could set before the South the case as it is, he would satisfy the slaveholders not only that emancipation improves both master and servant in all essential respects, but also that it increases instead of diminishing the products of the plantations.

President Lincoln has issued a Proclamation explaining the position of aliens under the drafting law. No plea of alienage will be received or allowed to exempt from the obligations imposed by the Act of Congress any person of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and who shall be found within the United States during the continuance of the present rebellion, at or after the expiration of sixty-five days from the date of this Proclamation; nor shall any such plea of alienage be allowed in favour of any such person who has so as aforesaid declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and shall have exercised at any time the right of suffrage, or any other political franchise within the United States.

He has also proclaimed that Western Virginia will become a State of the Union on the 22nd June.

A call has been issued by the Fernando Wood adherents of the Mozart Democracy for a peace meeting to be held at New York in June. The efforts of the Administration to restore union by force of arms are declared to have failed. Union cannot be restored by mere brute force; therefore the vigorous prosecution of peace is urged: and while no national dismemberment or terms not justified by every principle of honour will be submitted to, the parties issuing the call will go very far in a spirit of conciliation and concession to restore the Union as it was, under the constitution as it is.

Great preparations were making for a meeting of all the loyal leagues in New-York State, to be held at Utica on the 27th ult. This meeting was to urge the vigorous prosecution of the war, and arrangements had been made that all the soldiers returned from the war should be present.

The Supreme Court of the District of Columbia has decided that no slave can be arrested and returned to a disloyal master.

Mr. Vallandigham, ex-member of Congress from Ohio, had been arrested at his residence in Dayton, by order of General Burnside, who is said to have commanded his arrest for making disloyal speeches in Ohio.

**Rebeldom.**—In compliance with a request of Congress, President Davis had issued an address to the people of the Southern States. After recapitulating the different events of the war, and declaring that the present position of the South was well calculated to inspire confidence

in the success of the Southern cause, he dwells upon the danger to be apprehended to the Secession cause, by the failure of the corn crops last year, and urges the people to raise exclusively corn, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, and other food crops for man and beast.

The *Richmond Enquirer* sees no further prospect of peace, as the Northern peace means reconstruction. The Southern peace means separation, and the *Richmond Enquirer* thinks the North can endure the dangers and disasters of war, but cannot face the horrors of peace on Southern terms, as Northern financial credit is supported wholly on the hope of subjugating the South.

General "Stonewall" Jackson's funeral took place at Richmond on the 12th of May, with great demonstrations of sorrow and respect. The *Richmond Whig* says that since the death of Washington no similar event has so profoundly and sorrowfully impressed the people of Virginia as General Jackson's death.

A despatch from Newbern, N.C., dated May 6th, says that a report had come to the effect that North Carolina banks had refused to pay their assessment to the Confederate Government, in which determination they are sustained by Governor Vance, who reiterates his threat to recall the rebel troops from this State.

The State Senate of Georgia has also declined to engage the State to share the responsibility of paying the debts contracted by the neutral government. Mr. A. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, leads this repudiation movement, and declares that Secession is a failure.

## PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Friday, 28th March.)

#### THE "ALABAMA" CASE.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL, after expressing surprise at the errors which were said to prevail in America with regard to the responsibility of the English Government for the acts of the *Alabama*, and attributing those errors to the persistent charges made in the despatches and papers laid before Congress, of the large exports of military and naval stores from this country, and of the supply of men and ships, and money for the Confederates, proceeded as follows: The Government of the United States did not think it unworthy of them to charge us with a systematic breach of neutrality, and, in supporting that accusation, to deny to England the application of those principles of international law which have been universally recognised throughout the world, and by no nation more fully and continually than by the United States. In saying this, I am not speaking without authority. On the 22d November 1862, the Mexican Minister at Washington addressed to Mr. Se-



ward a statement to the effect that it would be a breach of neutrality on the part of the United States if the French expedition to Mexico were supplied from New York or New Orleans with stores, baggage-waggons, &c. On the 24th of November, Mr. Seward replied to that complaint, and quoted extracts from well-known authorities, laying down the traditional principles of policy of the United States on the subject. The first citation is from instructions to the collectors of customs, issued by Alexander Hamilton, Secretary to the Treasury on August 4, 1793:

"The purchasing and exporting from the United States, by way of merchandize, articles commonly called contraband, being generally warlike instruments and stores, is free to all parties at war, and is not to be interfered with. If our own citizens undertake to carry them to any of these parties, they will be abandoned to the penalties which the laws of war authorize."

Well, have we not abandoned to the penalties of the law all ships of our country which have been found on the high seas carrying contraband of war? On the 8th of July 1842, Mr. Webster wrote to Mr. Thompson:

"It is not the practice of nations to undertake to prohibit their own subjects from trafficking in articles contraband of war. Such trade is carried on at the risk of those engaged in it, under the liabilities and penalties prescribed by the law of nations or particular treaties."

In his instructions of the same date, Mr. Webster further stated:

"That if American merchants in the way of commerce had sold munitions of war to Texas, the Government of the United States, nevertheless, were not bound to prevent it, and could not have prevented it without a manifest departure from the principles of neutrality."

The following passage is from President Pierce's Message to Congress:

"The laws of the United States do not forbid their citizens to sell to either of the belligerent Powers articles contraband of war, or to take munitions of war or soldiers on board their private ships for transportation; and although, in so doing, the individual exposes his property or person to some of the hazards of war, his acts do not involve any breach of national neutrality, nor of themselves implicate the Government."

We have heard complaints of loans of money, as well as of the sale of munitions of war. The practice of the United States in that respect is set forth in a communication from Mr. Webster to Mr. Thompson in 1841:

"As to advances, loans, or donations of money or goods made by individuals to the Government of Texas, or its citizens, the Mexican Government hardly needs to be informed that there is nothing unlawful in this, so long as Texas is at peace with the United States, and that these are things which no Government undertakes to restrain."

I think the House will now see that the American mind has not appreciated, justly and truly, the specific value of the charges in regard to the *Alabama*, or the manner in which the acknowledged general principles of international law bear upon that and similar cases. We have, therefore, some reason to complain of, and certainly to

regret, the course which the Government of the United States pursued. It is highly necessary, in order that the bearing of this question on international law, and the mutual relations of our Government and the United States, may be properly understood, that we should in the first instance ascertain clearly what is the right of the latter in the case. We of course have the deepest interest in the maintenance of our own rights, and are determined to enforce them in accordance with the laws and constitutional principles of this country. Now the fact is, that if we, for our own reasons, and in order to prevent the violation of our neutrality by other Governments, had not thought fit to pass the Foreign Enlistment Act—an Act which we have as much right to repeal as to pass—if we had not done that of our own will and pleasure, it would have been impossible for the Government of the United States, on their own principles, to treat the sale of ships of war as in any degree more unlawful than the sale of any other kinds of munitions of war. I will prove that from their own authorities. They have a Foreign Enlistment Act as well as ourselves, and their judges, in deciding cases under it, have had occasion to state the principles of that particular law, and also of the general law which prevails between nations. In 1815 the case of the *Alerta* was tried before the Supreme Court of the United States, and in the decision on it, it was stated:

"A neutral nation may, if so disposed, without a breach of her neutral character, grant permission to both belligerents to equip their vessels of war within her territory; but without such permission the subjects of such belligerent Powers have no right to equip vessels of war, or to increase or augment their forces either with arms or with men, within the territory of such neutral nation. Such unauthorized acts violate her sovereignty and her rights as a neutral. All captures made by means of such equipments are illegal in relation to such nation."

That is just the principle on which the Foreign Enlistment Act is based. It was passed for the defence of our neutrality against any invasion of it by other Powers, and not in consequence of any obligation imposed upon us. If then, *a priori*, a ship or arms may be sold, unless the neutral state interferes to prevent it, what is the extent of the right which a foreign Government derives from the existence of the Foreign Enlistment Act? Only this, that the foreign Government may appeal to the friendly spirit of the neutral State to enforce its own statute, according to its own principles of judicial administration. The United-States' Government have no right to complain if the Act in question is enforced in the way in which English laws are usually enforced against English subjects, on evidence and not on suspicion; on facts and not on presumption; on conclusive testimony and not on the mere accusations of a foreign minister or his agents. The Act must be not only interpreted but executed according to law. It can be put in operation only on such evidence as our own Government would deem sufficient to justify proceedings against any one. There is no comparison between the sale of a vessel of war by a neutral to a belligerent and such a case as that



which happened lately in Brazil, where the property of British subjects was plundered on the shores of that country. That was a case in which, apart from local laws, international rights were infringed. But in the present instance, the sale of a vessel of war is an offence purely because our own law has declared it to be so; and if any foreign Government have an interest in getting that law enforced, they must be content to have it done according to the ordinary modes of procedure in this country. It is a great mistake to suppose that the law was meant to prohibit all commercial dealings in ships of war with belligerent countries. It was not intended to do so. Two things must be proved in every case to render the transaction illegal;—that there has been what the law regards as a fitting-out, arming, and equipment of a ship of war; and that there was an intent that the ship should be employed in the service of a foreign belligerent. I am not going into an inquiry as to the construction of the Act, but I may remind those who wish to get at the real truth of the matter of one or two points which have been decided by the Supreme Court of America, the highest tribunal in that country. The House will then see what may lawfully be done on the showing of the Americans themselves. There was a rather remarkable case, which occurred in 1822, and was decided by Judge Story. The ship was called the *Independencia*. She was originally an American privateer, built and equipped for, and engaged in the war between the United States and Great Britain. After the peace she was converted into a brig and sold. In January, 1816, she was loaded with a cargo of munitions of war by her new owners, inhabitants of Baltimore, and being armed with twelve guns, constituting part of her original armament, she was sent from that port, under the command of Chayter, a native citizen of the United States, to Buenos Ayres, then at war with Spain.

(To be continued.)

#### THE FOREIGN ENLISTMENT ACT AND SHIPS OF WAR.

THE subjoined condensed statement has an important bearing on the question, whether vessels can legally be constructed for the use of the Confederates in our ship-building yards.

(From the *Morning Star*.)

"The Juridical Society held its ordinary Meeting on Monday evening, the 3d ult., at 4, St. Martin's place.

"Mr. WESTLAKE, presided, and Mr. RILEY read an able paper on 'The Foreign Enlistment Act as regarded Ships of War.' He set out by remarking that the provisions of the Act were of two classes; first, those that related to ships in connection with the enlistment of men, the ships being regarded merely as carrying the men; and, second, those that related to the equipment and commissioning of ships for purposes of war independently of the enlistment of men. After shewing that the language of the Act was ambiguous and embarrassing, Mr. Riley

said, as the law now stood, he imagined that, under skilful arrangements, in a time of neutrality, a ship of war might be built in a British port, might be sold there to the representatives of a belligerent, might be taken in command there by the commissioned officer of the belligerent, might sail out on to the high seas, and might exercise there all belligerent rights in the character of a public ship of war, and yet might absolutely, during the whole course of her career, never be for one moment within the waters of the State by virtue of whose commission and under whose flag she made war. To prevent the possibility of so gross an abuse of the benefits afforded to belligerents in neutral territory, it would, he thought, be quite justifiable for a neutral to lay down the rule that no ship of war should be deemed lawfully commissioned as a public ship until, so to speak, she had been at home. The present Act was not well defined, but few, he thought, would wish, with Sir James Macintosh, that there should be no law at all. Whenever the Act struck an offending ship an outrage on neutral rights was properly resented and punished. If the ship was detained and condemned the schemes of the belligerent would be frustrated. If the ship escaped forfeiture she would be, in respect of her original voyage, tainted with illegality in the view of a British prize court. Her capture would be affected with the character of torts, and her prizes would be restored wherever British jurisdiction attached. Such were some of the direct practical consequences of this legislation, and it would be admitted to involve strong inducements to the observance of their duties by the subjects of a neutral State; but such enactments were valuable in other respects. They amounted to a standing protest against the intrusion of belligerent operations into neutral territory. They were a pledge of impartiality on the part of the neutral in the treatment of belligerents as far as the words of a law could give one."

#### MUCH TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE.

IN the *Creole* of the 10th April, published at Georgetown, Demerara, we find a statement, which will be read with interest, but which conveys intelligence much too good to be true. The paragraph is taken from a number of the *New-Orleans Delta*, formerly, and probably yet, the organ of the pro-slavery party, and purports to be founded upon a letter from Havana, January 7th last:

EMANCIPATION IN CUBA.

"We find in the *New-Orleans Delta*," says the *Creole*, "an announcement which will be read with satisfaction by all who feel an interest in the extinction of African Slavery on the American continent. The *Delta* says, upon the authority of a letter which it publishes, that a large number of planters and proprietors of Cuba waited

upon General Serrano just previous to his retiring from the head of affairs, and solicited him to lay before the Queen some suggestions emanating from them, looking to a project for the gradual emancipation of the slaves in Cuba. This the late Captain-General refused to do, not because he was opposed to the measure, but for the simple reason that it is contrary to the custom in that ancient monarchy for subjects to petition or lay their grievances or opinions on matters of state policy before the monarch. All acts done are, by a fiction of Spanish law, supposed to be favours spontaneously granted by the Crown to the subject. The views of the petitioners, however, are laid before the Spanish Government indirectly, and it is hoped they may be acted upon by the Cortes. The letter in the *Delta*, dated Havana, January 7, relates:

"In regard to the representation of a number of planters and proprietors of slaves in this island, I have ascertained that no such representation was made to the Government of Her Catholic Majesty, because it was opposed by General Serrano, the late Captain-General of Cuba.

"It is true, a committee from the planters and proprietors presented themselves to Serrano, and made a manifestation to the effect that, in consequence of occurrences in the neighbouring republic of the United States, a sudden change in the institution of Slavery would take place in this island, resulting from suggestions on the part of England and France, and from which the Government of Her Catholic Majesty would not exempt it; and therefore they thought it proper to make a manifestation to the Government, and bring the question before Her Majesty by means of a representation, in order that her Government might adopt some anticipatory measures of salvation, and issue a decree of emancipation, which, while it would silence the demands of England, would protect or assure slave property in this island for the longest time possible.

"Serrano opposed the representation to Her Majesty's Government; but reports from individuals have gone privately to Madrid, and it is believed that we shall soon have some disposition made of the question on the plan proposed, emanating directly from her Majesty. It is said that the first step will be to give freedom to the source of Slavery, by declaring the mothers or females free, (in Spanish, *dar libre el vientre*—literally, giving freedom to the womb,) freeing the mother, but excluding the father. Following this, greater changes will probably be made, having in view a heavier pressure for the extinction of the institution."

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1863.

### NOTICE.

WE beg respectfully to inform friends that their Subscriptions to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, fell due on the 1st of January, and we shall feel obliged by their remitting the amount to L. A. Chamerovzow, 27 New Broad Street, E.C., London, to whom Post-Office Orders should be made payable.

### OUR ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the members and friends of this Society was held on Friday, May 22nd, at the London Tavern. By half-past twelve o'clock, the time appointed for the Meeting, a very large audience had assembled; and the entrance of the Chairman upon the platform was the signal for a great outburst of applause.

MR. CHAMEROVZOW, the Secretary, stated that the Committee had been disappointed in their expectation that Lord Brougham would preside, according to the advertisement. The cause of his lordship's absence would be explained in the course of the proceedings; but, in the mean time, G. W. Alexander, Esq., the Treasurer of the Society, had kindly consented to take the chair.

The following gentlemen, amongst many others, were present on the platform: Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart.; Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P.; the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, M.A.; Mr. William Evans, Chairman of the Emancipation Society; the Rev. Dr. Massie, Rev. W. Arthur, Rev. John Kennedy, Rev. John Sale, from Calcutta; Rev. Dr. Hugh Allen, Rev. J. H. Rylance, Rev. Henry Richard, M. Dubois, the Haytian Minister; M. Jeanty, Secretary of the Haytian Legation; Mr. T. C. Taylor, late Consul at Abbeokuta; Mr. Consul Macleod, Mr. F. W. Chesson, Mr. Baxter Langley, Mr. Stephen Bourne, Mr. Gerald Ralston, Mr. Thomas Binns, Mr. H. Sterry, Mr. F. Wheeler, Mr. R. Allsop, Mr. W. Allen, Mr. J. Forbes, from Boston; Mr. T. Ashby, Mr. T. Chalk, Mr. R. Forster, Mr. T. Bowley, Mr. J. Gilpin, Mr. J. Shewell, Mr. Parker, Mr. Peter Sinclair, Mr. S. Bowly, Mr. T. Norton, Dr. Hoole, Mr. A. Brooking, Mr. H. Brown, Mr. Joseph Thorp, Mr. J. Merri-  
rick, &c.

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I very much regret the circumstance that has deprived this Meeting of the presence of Lord Brougham as Chairman. I am deeply disappointed, because it is the cause of my being called upon quite unexpectedly to take this position, to which I feel exceedingly unequal. At the same time I may venture very briefly to express the very deep interest that, in common with many others, I take in the great cause for which we are assembled this day. It is true that we Englishmen, so far as some of us are able to judge, can do very much less to advance the righteous cause for which we have met than was the case in years past, when this country was itself deeply implicated in the crime of Slavery. At the same time it seems to many of us highly desirable that a Society should exist that should hold forth to the world the doctrine that Slavery is a costly, a cruel, and a wicked system, and that every Christian is bound to exert himself to the utmost of his ability to put it down. There are circumstances that will be stated to the Meeting, of an interesting character, in connection with the progress of the cause during the past year. But the great interest of the question at this moment unquestionably rests in the United States—or what were lately the United States—of America. In reference to the state of things that exists in that country, the friends of the slave feel that they are placed in a most difficult and trying position. On the one hand, they are not willing to become parties to a warfare, which they most deeply deplore; and on the other hand, they cannot but look to the establishment of a Confederacy based on Slavery as being a circumstance most deeply to be deplored. My own impression is, that on the part of many who have spoken and written upon this question there is a great misunderstanding—a most serious mistake—with regard to the character of Slavery as it exists in the Southern States of America. There are some who, in spite of all that was known of the character of Slavery as it existed in our own colonies, and notwithstanding the inherent cruelty that was proved there to attach to the system—not alone in one colony, but in every colony—dare to believe that Slavery is a mild system in the Southern States of America. A greater mistake, in my opinion, it is impossible to make. It is the nature of Slavery to be cruel. It is impossible for man to hold undisputed power over his fellow-men without abusing that power in countless instances. But that is not all. It is not only a system of enormous cruelty, as was proved by the punishments that took place in connection with Slavery in our own colonies, and under what was called the apprenticeship system—cruelties which finally led to the abolition of Slavery—but it is also a system of a most immoral and irreligious character. I feel there are few persons who reflect sufficiently on the circumstance, that amongst 4,000,000 of human beings—immortal beings—the marriage relation is not recognised. There are 4,000,000 of persons living in a country professedly Christian, in which, at any time, the husband may be separated from the wife, and the wife from the

husband, and in which also the parental relation is not regarded, and the parents may be separated from their children and the children from their parents, at the will of the master. This is the state of things which we are bound as philanthropists and Christians most loudly to condemn. It is a system which we are bound to pray shall be brought to a speedy termination; and if this dreadful war which is now raging in the United States of America should lead to that conclusion, much as we deplore the dreadful calamities of that war, it will be an immense good achieved out of the vast evil by which that good may be accomplished. I will not trespass upon the time of the Meeting by making further observations, and I can only express my regret that it has not fallen to the lot of Lord Brougham to introduce the business of the Meeting this day.

Mr. CHARLES F. BUXTON rose and said: I have received a letter this morning from Lord Brougham, in which he expresses his great regret at his absence. He states that he entirely approves of the resolutions that are to be brought forward, but it was a mistake which, he says, casts no blame on any one that his name was announced as chairman of this Meeting. He is disinclined to attend the Meeting to-day, lest he should appear to be departing from that strict neutrality which every Englishman ought to maintain with regard to the events that are taking place in America. I am sure we all deeply regret his absence.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW, the Secretary of the Society, then read the Annual Report, of which the following is an abstract: The Committee express their regret at the undiminished activity of the Cuban slave-trade, and state that the number of slaves landed in Cuba for the year ending September 31, 1861, the date of the last official returns, was at least 88,000. For every slave landed, it was certain that at least two perished, so that 120,000 were conveyed away from Africa in 1861. The great delinquent in this matter was Spain, and history did not furnish so flagrant a violation of international engagements as the conduct of Spain on the question of the slave-trade. They challenged the sincerity of a Government which, with all the resources of diplomacy at its command, and supported by the national sentiment, not only failed to obtain the fulfilment of treaties ratified with Spain, but confessed complete impotency to deal with the difficulty. They then expressed their satisfaction at the conclusion of the treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade with the United States, which they regarded as indicating a policy far in advance of that of the previous American administration. It was, however, a settled point of the Southern policy that the slave-trade ought to be as free as the trade in nutmegs; and means were actually provided for securing a majority of the Slave States for a re-opening of the African slave-trade. The Report, after entering at some length into the ope-



ration of the Society, notices with satisfaction the Act abolishing Slavery in the possessions of the King of Holland. It then alluded to the war in America, and expressed regret that the Southern Confederacy had found so many adherents and advocates in England. With the political aspects of the case the Committee had nothing to do; but considering it solely on its anti-slavery issues, they could not be partisans of the South. The anti-slavery tendencies of the Federal Government were to be judged from the abolition of Slavery in Columbia and the Territories, by its slave-trade Treaty with Great Britain, and its recognition of the Republics of Hayti and Liberia—measures which deserved the grateful thanks of the friends of humanity in all lands. The Committee emphatically protested, however, that in recording their appreciation of these various measures, they did not thereby give a sanction to the war, but regarded it with unmitigated sorrow, and most earnestly desired its speedy extinction. It was their belief, however, that so stupendous a calamity could not have been permitted to overtake the country except for some good purpose. The Report then narrated the steps taken by the Committee to counteract the influence brought to bear in favour of Slavery, and concluded by expressing the gratitude of the Committee at the actual progress freedom had made.

The SECRETARY then read the following letter which had been received from the American Minister, in reply to a minute forwarded by the Society to the President of the United States :

“Legation of the United States,  
“London, May 21.

“SIR,—I am directed by the President of the United States to acknowledge on his behalf the reception of the proceedings of a special meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* of the 19th of January last, which were duly transmitted to him through the medium of this Legation. It gives him pleasure to observe that these proceedings are distinguished by an earnest desire that peace may now and for ever be preserved between the United States and Great Britain; that the Union of his own country, which is the bulwark of its safety, may be maintained; and especially that it may not be overthrown, so as to give room to a new nation to be founded on the corner-stone of human Slavery.

“I am further instructed to say that the justice of these sentiments, as well as the confidence in the President, which is expressed in the proceedings, would entitle the subjects of Great Britain who constituted this meeting to a special, grateful, and fervent notice on his part. His sentiments on the subjects involved have, however, been so fully expressed in replies which have been made to the working men of Manchester, to the citizens of London assembled at Exeter Hall on the evening of the 29th January

last, and to the citizens of Bradford that, instead of repetition, he prays that you will consider the spirit expressed in them as equally entertained in the present case.

“I have, &c.,

“CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

“L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq.”

Mr. HENRY STERRY read in detail the balance-sheet for the year ending 31st December 1862, shewing disbursements under various heads amounting to 1421*l.* 16*s.*, leaving a balance in hand of 29*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* on the 1st of January 1863. He added, that he had prepared a supplemental balance-sheet to the 30th of April, shewing that the whole of that balance had been expended, and liabilities incurred to the amount of 150*l.*

A GENTLEMAN, whose name was not mentioned, here stood up in the body of the room, and said he thought that the audience should express their opinion on the unsatisfactory apology which had been received for the absence of Lord Brougham. He begged to move: “That this Meeting, having heard the unsatisfactory reason assigned for the absence of Lord Brougham, begs to express its deep regret that his lordship should not have seen it right to occupy the chair, and to request that a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the Secretary to his lordship.”

Mr. BUXTON said that Lord Brougham conceived that he never expressed any decided promise to come to the Meeting, and that the announcement that he would do so was the result of a misunderstanding.

The MOVER of the RESOLUTION: I can only say that I, and I dare say many others, came to this Meeting chiefly for the purpose of hearing Lord Brougham.

Mr. BUXTON: The note from Lord Brougham was only received this morning.

Sir THOMAS F. BUXTON moved the first Resolution as follows:

“That the Report, of which an Abstract has been submitted to this Meeting, be adopted, and be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee; and that the gentlemen whose names have been read be the Committee and the officers during the ensuing year, with power to add to their number.”

He said,—In moving this resolution, I feel that the Report contains two very important facts, which I am very glad have been impressed upon this Meeting, and which I think ought to be impressed upon the public at large. The first fact is, that Slavery and the slave-trade do exist at this day to a terrible extent. The numbers read by the Secretary quite surprised me, and I think it high time that the people of this and other countries should know to what a terrible extent the evil exists. The second fact is, the announcement of the progress that has been made in putting Slavery down. I see that, in a subsequent resolution which is to be proposed to this Meeting, allusion is made to the happy circumstance that it is to be put an end to in the West-Indian possessions of Holland. It is a gratifying fact, and a mark of the progress made by the anti-slavery party throughout Europe, that an important nation should not only bestow the blessings of freedom on many thousands, but that it should withdraw from that diminishing minority of nations that support the system of Slavery, and that have to bear the ever-increasing infamy of the traffic upon their shoulders. In thus receding from the slaveholding nations, Holland has now reduced the number of states on the continent of Europe who support Slavery across the Atlantic to two—Spain and Portugal. And surely it is well that we should be again reminded of the immense power in support of the system which Spain still exercises, and that we should take every opportunity of influencing public feeling in that country, and also the personal feeling of the Queen of Spain against the system. I believe that we shall be doing a great public service by calling attention to these facts, and that we shall thus further the cause in which we take so deep an interest. Naturally the Report is principally occupied with the events that are now transpiring on the American continent. I need not follow those events as they have been set forth, but I cannot sit down without expressing my firm conviction, that Slavery on the continent of America is fast approaching the day of its dissolution. One cannot, of course, tell how events may follow each other, or what prospect there is of one side or the other getting the best of the struggle; but we can look beyond that question, and must feel that Slavery contains within itself the seeds of death, which must rapidly take root and grow in such a crisis as this. I do believe that it cannot last through such a storm, but must come to an end, perhaps before many months have passed away. I have great pleasure in proposing the Resolution.

The Rev. DR. MASSIE said: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I come before you to second the Resolution which has just been proposed, with very grateful feelings. I feel grateful to the Society which has convened us on the present occasion; which has been a witness for so many years against the horrors of Slavery on behalf of the oppressed and the suffering; and which has so ably exerted itself for the promotion of those principles of liberty that are consistent with Christianity all over the world. I rejoice to think that this Society is not only still in existence, but that it has proved itself to

be so efficient in its operations, though there may be considerations which prevent many persons, who are highly valued by the Society, and to whom the Society is dear, taking what might be considered the attitude of partisans in relation to the civil war in America. What they have done in the past they have well done, and as men who stand apart from the trammels of war, they have spoken with no uncertain sound, but have sent forth the trump of truth and liberty on behalf of the negro in all parts of the world. But this Society is worthy of still further support, and of still more liberal contributions, that whatever it proposes to do may be done efficiently. I feel, also, that I am honoured in coming in connection with the representative of that great and good man who so laboured and so succeeded in his advocacy of the cause of the slave in all parts of the world. The memory of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton is as ointment poured forth. It is very precious to those who wrought with him, and in some measure endured the obloquy that came upon his great name because he was the champion of the oppressed, and willing to labour for those who could not requite him in the hour of their toil and trouble. It is gratifying, I am sure, to all of us to see the representative of that good man taking his place on the platform of this Society—the first to open his mouth to-day on behalf of the cause, and not only contemplating the condition of the men who have escaped from bondage in America, but also rejoicing in the hope that Slavery shall yet itself be abolished, and that all the world shall be free from that crime and curse which has been not only the ruin of many a black man, but the dishonour and infamy of many a white man. I feel grateful, because, perhaps, I am one of the links of connection between the agitation for the abolition of Slavery in our own colonies, and the present agitation for the abolition of Slavery all over the world. It was my happiness to labour with those who, previous to 1838, accomplished the emancipation of our own slaves, and the deliverance of our own planters from the infamy and ruin which Slavery brought upon themselves and their families. The Resolution I have to second is, that the Report be printed and circulated. I am sure that our Secretary, in reading the abstract which he has presented to you, has neither done himself nor the Report justice. I never read a document proceeding from this Society that did not both enlighten and enchant me, both by the truth of the statements themselves and the manner in which they were presented, and I therefore willingly move that the Report of the Society be printed and circulated. I always feel a little embarrassed in treading beyond the bounds of the specific Resolution committed to me; and yet, why are we here? I answer, because we are not afraid of being partisans on behalf of the negro; because we believe, that were our Master, whom we bow to, and whose sceptre we welcome as an authority, with us now, He would say, Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free; sound forth the trump of jubilee, and let all men enjoy the liberty which I purchased for men of all lands. We are not ashamed to stand forth—we should be recusant to the principles of

Christianity if we did not—and promote by every means in our power the abolition of Slavery. One aspect of the question, as it is presented to us in the Report, is, however, to my mind most horrifying. Even at this period, not less than 120,000 poor, innocent, suffering fellow-men and women are torn from their homes every year, and carried off in bondage to Cuba. Any one who has looked into the hold of the slave-ship, or has read the sad tale of the slave-dealer's conduct towards the cruisers, must blush for his humanity when he feels that these 120,000 men and women represent 250 cargoes of human souls, in all the agony, the anguish, the degradation of the middle passage; for the owners of the slave-vessel, even when running before the cruisers, would prefer to send them all overboard rather than be captured and pay the penalty of their crimes. Under these circumstances, what is to be done? Sir Thomas thought that our influence might be brought to bear upon the Queen of Spain. Would God that that woman had a woman's heart, and I should not fear; but she is under the trammels, and within the toils, of a priestcraft that has been the curse of mankind, and that has traded in the souls as well as in the bodies of men. But still, there is One who holds monarchs under his control, and turns the hearts of sovereigns at his pleasure. This morning some of you may have seen in the papers a telegram from Madrid to the effect that the punishment of Martomoras and his companions has been commuted from galley slavery to banishment from Spain. Oh! it must be a blessing to be banished from such a country under any circumstances. I refer to this as the result, not of a mere deputation to the Queen of Spain, but of moral influence, and of the pleadings of Christian men and women before the throne of grace on behalf of these suffering Protestant victims of oppression. God has heard prayer, and He will hear it. Sir, on behalf of the negro, as truly as on behalf of the Spaniards, let us make the Queen of Spain and her ministers feel that there is a moral atmosphere around them, and that they cannot possess the liberty to countenance that accursed traffic between the coast of Africa and the shores of Cuba. I trust it will be felt by every Spaniard, that so long as such a crime continues, the curse of God will rest upon them, and that they will be oppressed by his judgments as well as by man's displeasure. I will not trespass upon your attention in reference to a subject I am sure will be brought forward in its proper place by one of the gentlemen who will follow. Like the Chairman, I cannot fight for the suppression of Slavery. I cannot take up arms even to defend myself; and I should have to run, if I could, out of the way of danger; but whilst that is so, I feel that the power which begun the war in America was the slave power. The Slave States fired the first gun, hoisted the flag, and declared themselves determined to break the Union rather than see their Slavery abolished. Every gun that has been fired by the North has been but an answer and an echo to their crime and their rebellion. I am sure God is punishing both parties for being interested in Slavery; but I rejoice to believe, that at this hour there are

400,000 negroes free that were slaves in the month of March 1861. They are now free: God bless them, and enable them to maintain their freedom, and help their friends throughout the United States.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The Hon. and Rev. B. W. NOEL said: The Resolution I have been requested to move is as follows:

"That this Meeting deems it of the utmost importance at this crisis to re-affirm the fundamental principle of the anti-slavery movement, that 'slaveholding is a sin and a crime before God,' and that its speedy extinction is devoutly to be desired on the highest grounds of religion and humanity."

There are two things asserted in this Resolution. One is, that slaveholding is a sin, and the other is, that it is a good thing for this Society to re-affirm that principle, and to make it known. I thoroughly agree with both statements, and therefore am very glad to propose this Resolution. I think an Englishman will scarcely ask why Slavery is a sin and a crime before God. I hope that I, and many among you, are the servants of God; and if we are it is impossible for us to be slaves, because the will of man may come in opposition to the will of God, and the question then is, which is to be obeyed? Slavery makes men, and women too, the chattels of men, and consequently gives to the slaveholder the power, which he will exercise if he be a villain, of enforcing by penalties which the courage of few can resist, conduct which is opposed to the will of God. On that account it must be a sin. This country is a laborious country. Dean Andrews used to say, If a man would do his duty he must work like a horse; and I rejoice to think that many in this country think that labour is dignity; that the labour of the mind and the labour of the hands are both honourable. God has made man to labour, and it was not simply a curse when he said, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." But observe how slaveholding turns that which God meant to be a blessing into a curse. God ordains that when a man labours, whether with his hands or his head, he ought to labour for himself; but Slavery calls him to labour for another and to exist for another. It tells him that he lives for another man's benefit and pleasure, and must work for him. God meant labour to be a blessing; and it is a blessing to any man who labours heartily. If a man labour for wages, it produces thrift, economy, and forethought—a desire to improve his lot; and it is adapted to strengthen all that is manly in a man. But tell a man that he must labour for another, and not have any remuneration, then all those things that would improve his character are lost at once. If a man labour for his family, it cultivates all the best and most tender affections, and produces generosity. If a man works to give his wife a better gown, his children a better position in society, to furnish them with pleasant and wholesome food, or a comfortable dwelling, he is an honourable man and a man of high principle. But Slavery takes



away from a man all these motives and exertion, steals from him his wife and children, allows him (and that is sometimes said to be the highest credit of the South) wholesome food like a horse, gives him beans and oats when he has done his day's work, and suffers him to lie down in the straw; and because his muscles are strong, and his health not destroyed, thinks that his master has done his duty. It is a degradation to think that God made man to live like a beast, and to be satisfied with the condition of a beast, without the right to exercise his mind—without any forethought of the future—without the right to say I am a man. If a man labours as he ought to labour in our own country, he can obtain at least a competency, and very often wealth, and with that comes education, and refinement, and self-respect, and dignity, before his fellow-creatures, and sometimes even a high position. I know some in this country who are now opulent men, who began with the very lowest offices of the labourer. It is the honour of Great Britain that such things do happen, and it is the honour of the man to whom it happens that he has been able to work his way up to such a position. But let a man be toiling, not for wages, not from any voluntary sense of duty, but because the whip of the slavedriver is about his shoulders,—that man is degraded to the very earth, and so labour, which God meant to be a blessing to man, becomes, in slaveholding countries, a curse. And let me remind you, gentlemen, that those who labour under these disadvantageous circumstances are not a few among many, but the whole labouring class of the Slave States. If England were to be brought to the condition of the Slave States, all the men and women who labour in our villages or cities would be brought into this horrible condition. Where God has thus made man to serve him, and to labour for himself, his family, his country, and all that is noble and good, he must have many rights to protect; but in the Slaveholding States he has no right whatever. He has no right to his muscle, or his mind, or his strength, or his speech; he has no right to his wife nor his children; he has no right to any of the privileges of citizenship, nor even to complain if he is tormented and brought to ruin and misery by the injustice of a cruel slaveholder: he cannot change his master. There he is fettered for life; or, if his master wishes to torment him yet more, he may sell him at any moment away from his wife or children. Placed in these circumstances, a man, in this position, is necessarily a wretched and a ruined being; but if, destitute of all his rights, he should resist his master's tyranny, he may be shot by law upon the spot. If he tries to escape, he may be hunted by dogs; and this by law, remember. The law allows his master, in what it terms moderate correction, to flog him to death; and if a man murders his slave, the infamous law that no evidence of slaves can be heard against their master is enough to cover all the most infamous cruelties that can be perpetrated. Now, the right of self-defence is natural to a man. My dear friend, Dr. Massie, has said that he would not even defend himself against a brigand or a murderer. I don't know whether I should have apostolic meekness enough

to conduct myself, in these circumstances, in the same way; but this I am sure of, that it is a natural right to man to resist violence; at least in my opinion it is so. If so, imagine the position of a man who is prohibited from defending himself or those who are dear to him. There is something gallant in a man exposing himself to the bludgeon or the rifle of the murderer, and making no sign of resistance; but a slave must stand by and see his mother knocked on the head with a bludgeon without saying a word against it. A man must see his wife flogged for fidelity to him, and he must not remonstrate; a wife must see a man flogged for fidelity to her husband, and must not remonstrate. All sorts of crimes are perpetrated under the countenance of the law, and may be perpetrated beyond the law in those States; and who can tell me that a system which requires for its maintenance, that occasionally men should be burnt alive, is not, at this day and hour, while you and I have met here in peace, leading to the perpetration of the most atrocious and enormous crimes that the imagination can conceive. It would be to insult your understanding to ask whether this is Christian like; whether it is according to the example of our blessed Lord and Master to torment people in this way. Did our blessed Master come from heaven to enslave men, or to set the slave free? I read in God's holy Word, that "He shall judge the poor of the people; He shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor." Now, if ever there was a ruthless oppression on the face of the earth, it is that which is being systematically pursued now in the Slave States. And if the Lord Jesus is determined to break the oppressor, sooner or later, to pieces, it is only blasphemy to declare that He is the patron of that which He is determined to destroy. I ask whether it is a Christian duty to hold men and women in this bondage? How should we defend it? One great law, which God has instituted, a law second only to that first great law—God grant that you and I may obey it—to love Him with all the heart and soul, and mind, and strength, is the law that we love our neighbour as ourselves. Who is my neighbour? When Jesus would expound that, He selected a man's enemy—a man that would perhaps have spat in his face if he had not been injured; and he mentioned another who went up to his natural enemy as he lay on the ground wounded by the thieves, raised him up, and put him on his own beast, and carried him to the inn, and took care of him; and this, says our Lord, is to love your neighbour as yourself. But here are four millions of human beings that have done no wrong—laborious, gentle, affectionate, docile, religiously disposed, many of them manifesting the highest principle, and even heroism; and these are downtrodden and crushed in the name of Christianity. Why, it makes Christianity stink in the nostrils of mankind, that Christians can do these things, and do them under the pretence that Christianity itself sanctions them. Nay, more, in the Book of God I find it said, by the Apostle to a church which included slaves "Ye are all children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." If a man has faith in Christ it matters not what is the colour of his skin, or what the climate in

which he dwells, or what the position he occupies. Let him believe in God and in the Saviour God has given, and he becomes a child of the Most High. We are children of God by faith in Christ Jesus; we are brothers and sisters; we are one in Christ; we have no right to look down with contempt on any one, because we all are children of God, and heirs of the same inheritance. Blessed by the same Father, we have no right to look down on another and despise him as though he was the dust under our feet. But if the black slave, who is a believer in Jesus and a child of God, is to be worked without wages, whipped when he does not please his tyrant, and starved at his pleasure; if he is to be made not only the slave of his master, but the slave of any man whom his master chooses to set over him; and not only so, but is not to resist a drunken or a brutal white man, whom his master allows to beat him at his pleasure; it is dishonouring to the name of Christianity to pretend that this is Christian-like. If I were to meet one of these slaves, and to ask him what he would wish me to do—what he would wish the anti-slavery party in England to do—what would he be likely to say? I see a black friend there. Now, if I were to ask that black friend what he would wish us to do, I think he would answer, like a black man once answered Mr. Kirk, who had been staying for some time in the State of South Carolina. Mr. Kirk said at parting, to this black servant, "I cannot go without doing something for you;" because he observed the man, and saw what a fine manly fellow he was. Why, if I saw a black man with a stronger muscle and a better head, and a stronger brain, and a warmer heart, and a nobler character than myself, would I pretend to despise him because his skin was black? It would be a disgrace to me, not to him, if I were to do so. Well, Mr. Kirk met with one of these sort of men during his visit, and when he was taking his departure, he said to him, "What can I do for you?" "You karn't do nuffin for me, massa," said he; "I doan't want nuffin; I doan't want ter leab har, 'case de Lord dat put me har, arn't willin' I shud gwo. But you kin do suffin, massa, fur de pore brack man, an' dat 'll be doin' it fur me, 'case my heart am all in dat. You kin tell dem folks up dar, whar you lib, massa, dat we 'm not like de brutes, as dey tink we is. Dat we's got souls, an' 'telligence, an' feelin's, an' am men like demselves. You kin tell 'em, too, massa,—'case you's edication, an' kin talk—how de pore white man am keep' down har; how he'm ragged an' starvin', an' ob no account, 'case de brack man am a slave. How der chil'ren can't get no schulein'; how eben de grow'd up ones doan't know nuffin, not even so much as de pore brack slave, 'case de 'stockracy want dar votes, an' cudn't get 'm ef dey 'low'd 'm larning. Ef your folks know'd all de trufh—ef they know'd how both de brack an' de pore wite man am on de groun', an' can't git up ob demselves, dey'd do suffin—dey'd break de constertution—dey'd do suffin ter help us. I doan't want no one hurted, I doan't want no one wronged; but jess think ob it, massa—four million ob bracks, an' nigh so many pore whites, wid de bressed Gospel shinin' down on 'em, an' dey not knowin' on it. All dem—ebry one ob

'm—made in de image ob de great God, an' dey driven roun', an' 'bused wuss dan de brutes. You's seed dis, massa, wid your own eyes, an' you kin tell 'em on it, and you will tell 'em on it, massa." And again he took my hand, while the tears rolled down his cheeks, saying, "An' Scip will bress you for it, massa; wid his bery lass breaf he'll bress you, an' de good Lord will bress you too, massa; He will for eber bress you, for He'm on de side ob de pore, an' de 'flicted. His own book say dat, an' it am true: I knows it, for I feels it har;" and he laid his hand on his heart, and was silent.

I could not speak for a moment. When I mastered my feelings, I said, "I will do it, Scip: as God gives me strength, I will."

Now, that is what this Society must do. As God gives him strength, every one must make known what Slavery is. Don't let it sleep. Don't let men be ignorant of it. Don't let them pretend that the slaves are happy. Carry the evidence through the land. Gather testimony and publish it. Let men know that it is opposed to God's word, and that you will do all you can to destroy it from the face of the earth. And now, gentlemen, if you are convinced that Slavery is a fearful wrong—and I have only given you a few sketches of it—let me say this to you. Don't be too easily convinced of the efficacy of what men say will emancipate the negroes. Don't give your sanction to that which will only rivet the chains and perpetuate their misery for generations to come. Make yourselves well acquainted with the facts, and if you believe—as I think, after you examine the facts, you will believe—that these slaveholders have their interests and passions and pride and prejudices all implicated in the system; if you believe that these slaveholders hold their power over the poor white men by means of keeping the black men in Slavery; if you believe that, so far from, of their own accord, liberating their slaves, they will stick to their system with a pertinacity of which you perhaps have no conception, and which you and I would not manifest in clinging even to that which is good; if you believe that, instead of destroying the slave-trade, they would renew it; and that, as was stated in one of their newspapers the other day, as soon as the war ceases, the first thing they will do is to repair their losses; which means, I have no doubt, that they will get 400,000 slaves to supply the place of the 400,000 who have escaped!—if you believe this, you must believe that the Slave States, if they are separated from the North, will re-open the slave-trade as soon as possible. The poor whites will have their slaves if they can. They see that their rich neighbours rise to wealth, power, and distinction by that means, and when they have the franchise in their hands, unless they are crushed by the slaveholders, do you not believe they will try and get wealth too? And if so, as the editor of the *Charleston Mercury* argued so recently, as soon as they are liberated from the North, they will try and repair the damages they have sustained by the loss of so many slaves. If this be so, do not carelessly give your sanction to that which shall make the condition of these black people unspeakably wretched; for—I will add another thing—the

greater the population, the more severe necessarily is the lot of the slaves. The slaves, of course, increase in numbers, and there will be, besides, fresh importations; and when there is one white to two blacks in the country, that most cruel of passions, fear—more cruel than cupidity, more cruel than pride—will force them to a severity of system of which there has been no experience hitherto. Let me therefore ask you to examine patiently, and in detail, what emancipation will do. Don't run away with the idea that the slaves are going to rise against their masters. They are not going to do it; they have no disposition to do it. Look at facts. See what the slaves did in our own colonies, and what they have done whenever the experiment of emancipation has been made. At Port Royal you will see 12,000 of these blacks labouring quietly and honestly, not only sustaining themselves, but likewise putting money into the public treasury. Ask what they are doing in Louisiana, and see those gentle, docile men going back to their old masters, and working on the sugar estates. If they were disposed to rise against their masters they had abundant opportunity, because the Federal lines were so near. But no; they have laboured patiently, and will labour still. When you observe these effects of emancipation, let me beg of you to use whatever influence you have—and remember that England has moral influence—to promote the good work, which, by the blessing of God, may take place before long in America. But let me add one thing more. If we are convinced that Slavery is the source of immeasurable miseries; that it is a hateful wrong; that it is a thing that every generous man on earth ought to abhor; then let us give our sanction and encouragement to every just measure for the amelioration of the load which the slaves have to bear. You hear that Columbia is free. Bless God for that; and bless the men that have freed Columbia. Columbia is free; but not one of her former slaves has come upon the public as a pauper. Their own poor are maintained by their own benevolence. They have never had a slave or a coloured man in that district buried at the public expense. They have their savings' banks and their accumulations of money; and they are now purchasing houses, and sustaining in that small district ten places of worship with their own money. When you see that, don't be afraid that emancipation will lead to anarchy or social crime. If you see that the United States are framing new treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade, as they have done, bless God for that. The black man must be tempted to feel a little pride, I should think, when he stands in his own right before the chief of a great nation with all the envoys from the European nations. It is a grand step in the history of the race that the embassy from Hayti and Liberia is placed on a footing with the Ambassador from our own most gracious Sovereign, and with those from France and Russia. And, again, let me add, if you see other measures that the Northern States have passed which are worthy of your sanction and encouragement, do not hesitate to say, "Well done" to those who are doing them, or who have done them. One of

those measures, as you have heard in the Report, is to propose compensating those States whose Legislature abolishes Slavery within its dominions. It has been said, why does not Mr. Lincoln abolish it in those States over which he has control, while he pretends to do so in those States that are in rebellion? I answer, Because Mr. Lincoln is a man of his oath. Mr. Lincoln respects law; and the law gives him the power to say to slaves in the Rebel States, you are free; but gives him no power to do so in the Loyal States. If he had attempted it, it would have defeated his very object; but it will follow ere long. When the slaves in the Rebel States are, by God's blessing, set free, the freedom of the rest will soon follow; and the four millions of blacks will have cause to bless God for all the fruits of liberty. But they have done another thing. It is a great thing to offer Missouri eleven millions of dollars; and Missouri will soon take them, and liberate her slaves. It is a great thing to observe that that great State, which is as big as England, and that, a few years ago, was so mad for Slavery, that a man who dared to express abolition sentiments in it would have been hung, is now fast approaching freedom, sends abolitionists to her legislature, and is willing to accept eleven millions of dollars, which the Government is ready to give them for the emancipation of her slaves. All this will be followed in the Slave States; but, above all, let me direct your attention to that most important of all acts, the exclusion of Slavery from the Territories, from half a continent—that continent which would, but for that Act, have been echoing to the lash of the driver and the groan of the slave, is now the home of free men; and if our children, or our children's children, should go there, they will have a fair and beautiful home, where they will never see the face of the slave, but will rejoice in all the blessings of freedom. Now, if these things be so, gentlemen, I feel that you will not be slow in passing the Resolution which I have read. I rejoice to meet so many of my fellow-countrymen in this city; and I rejoice in asking you individually to carry this Resolution into your own circles, and to tell your friends that Slavery is an abominable sin, and to get them to hate it as much you do, without hating those men who have been implicated in the guilt. But I ask another thing, too. It will be a happy thing for this country if the progress of events shall lead all classes to do as the *Anti-Slavery Society* so generously and wisely proposes to do. What I want to see is emancipation first, for that will destroy all source of quarrel between the North and the South. The slaveless whites and the middle classes in the Rebel States have not the least interest in separation from the other States, and there would be no cause of quarrel remaining if emancipation were once brought about. Let us have emancipation first, and let your influence be given to bring about that great result. But next, I wish for re-union. I have no spite against that great people. God has given us a little island, and them a vast continent—don't let us be jealous because God has so dealt with us. If we are industrious, and upright, and free, and love God, and do our duty, we need



not be afraid of the world if it should come against us. I do not hate France with her 400,000 bayonets, though they are sometimes said to be looking to our shores, and longing for a battle with us. I am not afraid of them, and I wish them prosperity, though I dislike to see the liberties of a nation trodden, under any circumstances, under the foot of a great man. But I should be ashamed to hate France. I should be ashamed to hate the French people, aye, and ashamed to hate even the head whom they have put over them; but I should be far more ashamed to be jealous of a great, free, Protestant people—not a Russia at the other end of the earth—thank God not a Russia, aiming only to carry its own bayonets through the world,—but a free, industrious, intelligent people like ourselves, with whom I hope this country will always be at peace and amity. I am glad to hear you welcome that sentiment. It reminds me of what our worthy Minister for Foreign Affairs recently said, and I like the words, because they are wise and conciliating. "They are a little excited," says Lord Russell; "but I am convinced the American Government do not really intend to disturb our commerce, while I am certain that neither the British Government, nor the British nation have any wish to interfere in the contest now going on in America. I hope that, as in the case of the sham garotters, (of whom he had been speaking,) they will eventually be reconciled to each other, and that, seeing they are old and respectable friends, the little passing excitement into which they were led will speedily end in the restoration of their ancient amity." Those are wise words, and we will echo them. I hope the powerful journals of Great Britain will adopt the same tone, and say to America, We must be friends. I hope that the aristocracy of this country will take this opportunity of convincing the people of the United States that we are not so jealous and malignant as they suppose us to be. I hope the aristocracy of this country will say, "We do love the rights of labour; we do love the poor of every country as well as the rich; we do want America to be prosperous as well as ourselves, and we will try and heal the animosities between the two countries. But, above all, let Christian men not hesitate to express clearly and distinctly their own views. There is another class, however, that I must not forget. Trade is not always so scrupulous and moral as it ought to be. I wish it were so. I wish that every man who tries to make his fortune by business, or by the honourable employment of his hand or his intellect, would say, I will never violate the laws of honour and honesty for any gains that may tempt me. And if the shipbuilders of England had that feeling still, and would see that it is not becoming for an English merchant or trader to endanger the peace of this country, to dishonour her character, and to violate his own conscience for the sake of money, they would not, I believe, need either the anathemas of their country, nor the threats of those who have to execute the law, to make them do what honourable Americans have done, and declare that they will not violate international more than municipal law, and that they will clean their hands of the defilement of

gain which can only be acquired in defiance of their country's laws, and in destruction of their country's honour. But at all events, whether they do so or not, it is at least in our power to wish—as I trust all here do wish—for emancipation and re-union. Nothing can give peace but emancipation and re-union. Perpetual war, as Mr. Disraeli said, will follow any thing else; and therefore, for England and America, let this Society, and all the friends of peace, say, Emancipation, re-union, and peace.

The REV. W. ARTHUR said: I feel, Sir, that the word "crisis" as it occurs in this Resolution, may possibly have two meanings; that it not only refers to the great political crisis immediately connected with the Slavery question, but also to the aspect of public opinion that has been developed in connection with political events. I presume that the Resolution proceeds from some feeling amounting to this, that shades and modifications of opinion have been elicited in connection with the great political crisis in America which give some peculiar obligations at this moment to the old duty of re-affirming our great principles. To me personally it has been a matter of deep concern that something so like a public compromise of the moral influence of England should occur as that seven hundred Protestant parties on the continent of Europe should think they were called upon to remonstrate with their brethren in this country as to the tone they were taking on a great question affecting the freedom of the negro. I do not say, Sir, that that act was one altogether uncalled for. I wish I honestly could meet Frenchmen, Italians, and others, in whose journals I read protests against England for her present position with regard to Slavery as compared with what she once held; I wish I could meet them and say, There is no variation in the feeling of England: the poorest people and the higher circles alike are as strongly and as thoroughly anti-slavery as they ever were. In the main they are. The heart of every Englishman is as it was before, but there has undoubtedly been the same influence at work here that I have seen at work in America. The friends of Slavery in America endeavour to persuade the Americans that there is nothing religious or philanthropic in the anti-slavery feeling in England; that it is merely a political manifestation; and that England is anti-slavery simply because she thinks her being so may cause an agitation in the United States. That is the view of the slaveholder there, and in like manner the friends of Slavery here would make us believe that the abolition movement in America is merely extravagant political fanaticism—nothing more. In America I always knew where I was when a man began by telling me that nobody could justify Slavery in the abstract; I always knew that he would be certain to take the slaveholders' part. Now I have no particular quarrel with Slavery in the abstract. You may say what you like about it in the abstract. But when I come to Slavery as propounded in the ultimatum of Jefferson Davis, which is this, that slave property should rest on precisely the same basis as all other property—that a white man may have just as much title over black men as he may have over so many bullocks or sheep—then I

say, in the language of this Resolution, that that is a sin against God and a crime before men; a sin against the Maker of the slave, a crime against man as the brother of the enslaved. I remember standing in the hall of the Congress at Washington in the beginning of the year 1856, when public events had come to that dead lock which was brought about by the appearance, for the first time there, of an anti-slavery majority. They so managed matters that a Speaker could not be elected for a very long time, and at last Congress resolved that three candidates for the Speakership should be catechized as to their political faith. The moment that Resolution was adopted, the member for Mississippi stood up and read six long questions. The great question was this—and it was read in such a tone as you might adopt if you were asking me if I believed in the equality of a lord or banker and a lord or pickpocket—the question was, “Do you believe in the natural equality of the black and white races?” The pro-slavery candidate very meekly said, “I do not. I believe that the Creator intended that the black race should be subordinate.” When the question came to General Banks, the anti-slavery candidate stood up, surrounded as he was by a number of slaveholders, and said, “Do I believe in the natural equality of the black and white races? I believe that God made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth.” A shiver went through the assembly, but he continued: “As to the inferiority or superiority of a race, my reading has taught me, that whenever an inferior race meets a superior on the same soil, it disappears from before it: now the black man has been a good while in the presence of the white, and has not disappeared yet; and it is for future history to point out which of the two shall shew itself the superior race.” Mr. Noel has said something about the crime of Slavery. I believe that it is utterly impossible to get any Englishman to admit into his mind—I mean an educated and thoughtful Englishman; not a man who will run away with an exaggerated notion, but one who takes time to think—I believe it is impossible to get thoughtful and educated Englishmen to admit into their minds any thing like the amount of legalized crime, which Slavery not only shelters, but absolutely begets, without feeling in his soul that one of his first duties is to go to the God who rules over all, and pray that that oppression may be revoked. I remember, when in New York, a lady from Alabama saying to me the last day I spent in America, “It is a shame for Harriet Beecher Stowe to make such representations of her countrywomen.” I said, “Before I came to America I thought that her representations were probably fair; but I do not think so now. She gives three examples of a slaveowner's establishment: Shelby's, where the people are as well treated as they can be; St. Clair's, where they are foolishly indulged, and where the chief drawback to their happiness is a bad-tempered and unreasonable woman; and then, to give you a case of great cruelty, you are taken away out of the world across the Red River, and presented with an example of a monstrous and exceptional

man. Now, I said, I have no idea that these cases of horrible cruelty are all along the Red River, or are all committed by men of the stamp of Legree. I tell you that many of your Virginian patriots, whom you call gentlemen, are guilty of these things.” Sir, there is no shame to my mind so great as mentioning the cause of the slaveholder and the Englishman in the same breath. I have no aristocratic blood in my veins, but of all the injuries, social or political, which are capable of being done to the aristocracy of England, there is none that, in present shame or future danger, can be compared with the injury that was done them by associating them with the slaveholders of the South. And if there be a species of slaveholder that I hold in greater loathing than another, it is not so much the slave-driving one of Louisiana as the slave-breeding one of Virginia. Well, the lady was astonished at what I said, and she replied, “Oh, it is really scandalous to draw such characters: I never heard such a thing. Why,” she said, “there was a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Montgomery who was believed to have caused the death of some of his slaves; but then, you know, he never was received in society.” “Never received in society!” I said: “he ought to be hanged. A man who caused the death of his horse by cruelty ought not to be received into society.” The lady evidently looked upon me as a very rabid specimen of that very intolerable animal—an abolitionist. Is that what the English conscience responds to? If it is, I say, that great an evil as war is—and I have a right to speak of the evils of war which some who have been very loud on the subject of late have not: I have taken ground against wars that we could not influence by English opinion when many have been silent,—but I say that there are worse things in the world than war, and of all the bad things in the world, the worst is American Slavery. All systems of living by violence are bad; but the most highly-organized, the most elaborated, the most consolidated system of living by violence that the world ever saw, is the system of American Slavery. No such Slavery exists in Mohammedan countries, or in Pagan countries. One does not go to Dahomey to get a law forbidding a man to be educated or emancipated. You go to these States for it. You go not to Mohammedan countries to get a law forbidding a man who begins life as a slave ending it in some position of power. You go to these States for that. There is no such crime against human rights anywhere; and bad as war is, it is not half so bad as that. Robert Hall truly said, “War is the temporary repeal of all the virtues;” but Slavery, as embodied in the Statute Books of Carolina and Louisiana is the permanent endowment of all the vices. Some Englishmen have shewn a wonderful solicitude of late as to how Slavery shall terminate, and have been very much afraid lest it should terminate in some way they do not like—lest it should terminate too suddenly or too calamitously. My great solicitude is not so much how it shall terminate, as whether it shall continue. There are more crimes, more deaths, more tears, more curses, more blood-shedding, more physical and moral evil, in seven years of



Slavery, than wars will bring us. I am not pleading for war, but I am comparing evil with evil, and that is all I do. I stand upon that comparison, and call upon every Englishman here to make it. Whatever may be our views about political events, in which we have, every man, the right to found our own opinion, on the question of Slavery—whether it be lawful for one man to hold property in his fellow-men—let no person have the opportunity of saying that the public sentiment of England is wavering; let no one be able to say that we are less anxious that Slavery should terminate, than that it should terminate without any injury to those who have benefited from it so long. The only thing that could have caused it to terminate peaceably was the repentance of those who have lived on its gains; and that time has passed. The calamity has come. God's hand has been manifested, and desolations have fallen. Our own country, which indirectly supported Slavery by buying slave-grown cotton, has indirectly suffered; and the Free States, which not only supported it indirectly, have not only suffered as we have done, but have suffered in their children and in all their interests; but there has not been one battle fought upon free soil. The blood of battle has all fallen on the soil where the blood of the slave has fallen.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. CHARLES BUXTON, M.P., moved the following Resolution:

"That, in the opinion of this Meeting, the Abolition of Slavery, decreed to take place from and after the 1st of July next, in the Dutch West-India Colonies, and in 1876 in all the trans-marine possessions of Portugal; the emancipation of the serfs in Russia; the total cessation of the African Slave-trade to Brazil and from the Portuguese provinces in West Africa; the new Slave-trade treaty with the United-States' Government, granting a right of search; the abolition of Slavery in the district of Columbia; its prohibition for ever in the Territories; the recognition of the Negro Republics of Haiti and Liberia, and other measures which the United-States' Government has initiated, in furtherance of emancipation, claim signal and grateful recognition from the friends of human freedom in all lands, and are acts calculated to encourage them to unabated and united efforts to obtain the total and speedy extinction of the Slave-trade and of Slavery wherever they exist."

He said: Mr. Chairman, after some of the expressions that have fallen from some of the friends who have preceded me, I should not like to address this Meeting without, at the same time, saying that I myself do not recede in the least degree from the view which I have all along entertained of the events that have taken place on the other side of the Atlantic, but that I still, as much as ever, lament and disapprove the conduct of the North in its endeavour to subjugate the South by force of arms. I am extremely sorry to differ from some of my excellent friends

about me, with whom, on other points, I hope I may say I have the most hearty fellowship; but of course it is competent for some persons to take one view and some another on those great events. I confess, however, that it gives me a thrill of pleasure to read the accounts which shew that the working-men of this country are so carried away by their abhorrence of Slavery that they are blinded, as I think, to the true merits of the case. I am not going to argue the case; but it does seem to me that a war which has plunged that continent into desolation—[A voice: Who began it? followed by some confusion.]

The CHAIRMAN appealed for a fair hearing for the speaker.

Mr. BUXTON: Perhaps I had better not touch upon that point. I only wish to guard against being supposed to have altered my views at all; but, at the same time, it is impossible to look on what is taking place on that continent without feeling more and more encouraged as to the prospect of the ultimate abolition of Slavery. I must confess that on one point I was wrong. I looked, I confess, with the utmost apprehension and anxiety on the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln. I did think that its tendency was to rouse the slaves to rebellion; and I knew too well the horrors that have taken place in consequence of such uprisings in our own colonies and elsewhere, not to look with fear, for the sake of the negroes themselves, on the prospect of a revolt, which I could not but feel was sure to end in their destruction, and in unspeakable miseries and calamities to their race. At the same time, I must not conceal that I did not share the sentiment that has been expressed by Mr. Arthur, namely, that one can look with indifference on the unspeakable miseries which such a policy would have caused the authors. However, thank God, all those apprehensions have proved to be vain. Most happily, the negroes have shewn still that patience, that wonderful forbearance and spirit of forgiveness, which has always characterized their race, and have not brought upon themselves and others those terrible calamities which I feared. Happily we do see, day by day, the cause of abolition extending itself over that continent. We find, that though the negroes have not chosen to rise against their masters, they have shewn that abhorrence to a state of bondage which some of their enemies told us would not be displayed. We find, that from every part of the Slave States, wherever it was possible to do so, they have shaken off their bondage and made their escape, undergoing, in some cases, the most cruel sufferings and perils in order to make their way again to where the Federal flag was waving, and where freedom would be their lot. It certainly is most gratifying to find that the offer of the President to endeavour to induce Congress to supply funds for the redemption of the slaves in the States which are still loyal appears already to be bearing some fruit. It is perfectly true that the great State of Missouri—and I would advise every one who takes an interest in the subject to look at the map and see what an enormous State that is—is rising fast towards the light of freedom. The slaves



have, to a certain extent, been taken away from it by their masters; in a number of others the masters have emancipated them, feeling that it was impossible to hold them in bondage. And altogether Slavery is melting away rapidly from that State. Well, we may hope that, as we see Slavery disappearing from one part, the tendency of the movement must be to spread, and that, day by day, freedom will make its way further and further to the darkest parts of the earth, even to Carolina itself. There is one thing we cannot but look upon with the most perfect interest and satisfaction. The great problem in our colonies was this, Will the negro do the work as well or better in freedom as in Slavery? Some people never will allow that our experiment in the West Indies has been a successful one, but I believe that in not doing so they are simply shewing their ignorance. I have most sedulously gone into the case, and certainly the conclusion at which I came was that it was simply owing to the extraordinary circumstances in which the West Indies were placed, which deprived the masters of all the capital with which they should have paid wages, so that the negroes could not be certain of a fair day's wage for a fair day's work: it was simply that that caused all the difficulty. But at this moment we know that the West-Indian colonies, where we were told that the free negroes would do nothing, are exporting sugar alone to the value of six millions sterling. However, that experiment, successful though it was, could not be expected to arrest the attention of all the earth, and, unhappily, the eyes of slaveholders will not be attracted by experiments going on close by them in those parts of the United States to which the free negroes have escaped. We there find the actual fact before us which no one can deny, that a large part of these negroes have been selected by the United-States' Government to act as soldiers, and have shewn bravery and steadiness, even under heavy perils. I only wish that greater opportunities had been afforded them of shewing what I believe to be the good sound stuff that is in them. Others have been employed on works connected with the camp and on other public operations, and we hear no complaints of their refusing to work, or shewing that the reason why they might have wished to escape from Slavery was that they might wallow in indolence. Look, besides, at the experiments which are going forward in various parts, where the free negroes are once more employed on the plantations where they have been brought up in the cultivation of cotton and sugar; and though, of course, sufficient time has not elapsed to enable us to see what may come from the experiment in the end, yet, so far as it has gone, we have reason to believe that the negroes are found to be industrious, steady, and submissive to those who are over them, and that nothing is wanting to make the free negro work well, except that his wages should be paid regularly, and that he should receive a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. Now, we know that Slavery in other respects is ruinous to the country in which it exists, and there can be no plea set up for it by the most earnest slaveholder, except the old one, that the negro will not work

for wages, and that it is absolutely necessary to force him to labour. That false plea will, I presume, be disproved in the sight of the slaveholder himself by these experiments, and as it becomes more and more manifest in the eyes of men, so more and more must Slavery become distasteful to those who are interested economically in the question, especially when they see that it is more and more to their interest to pay a negro a fair day's wage than to keep him and his children in bondage. But we who are interested in the anti-slavery cause must not confine our view to what is taking place on that great continent, interesting as those events undoubtedly are. It surely is very gratifying to think, that after so many years of doubt and hesitation on the part of Holland, that country should now be emancipating all its slaves—doing what, a few years ago, we should have thought a glorious triumph. It is now a fact, that there is no European country but Spain that holds human beings in bondage. A short time ago we had to look on Russia as an exception to the rule; but I rejoice to hear that the experiment of emancipating the serfs is going on satisfactorily. There do not appear to have been any disturbances or difficulties that have not been easily met; and it also appears that the serfs are rising to the condition of free men without those convulsions and revolutions which some ill-wishers of the cause were ready to foretell. It is a grand thing indeed that millions of our fellow-men within Europe should have been thus rapidly raised from Slavery to freedom. Then it is also a great thing that that death-blow should have been given to the Spanish and Cuban slave trade, of which we have heard this afternoon. It is perfectly true that our great difficulty has been, that our cruisers were obliged to treat the United-States' flag with respect, and might not even go on board a ship covered by that flag, to ascertain whether it was really a United-States' ship or not. Now, with the cordial co-operation of the Federal Government—with the increasing love of freedom, and abhorrence of Slavery, which, in spite of all drawbacks, I do think is still spreading over the heart and conscience of the world—we may look within a few years to see the greatest of all crimes and calamities that disgrace the earth—the Spanish slave-trade of Cuba—abolished. Happily, the Brazilian slave-trade, which amounted to 70,000 negroes per annum, and which caused the destruction of twice that number, has been abolished a few years ago; and I believe that in a few years we shall see the other remnant of the Cuban slave-trade abolished likewise, and the abolition of Slavery extending itself more and more over both the American continents. While, therefore, there is much to depress and dishearten us when we look at some points of the struggle, on the whole we may take courage, for the light of freedom is growing brighter and brighter, even unto perfect day.

Mr. PETER SINCLAIR: I am very happy to have the opportunity of following the distinguished gentleman who has just sat down, more especially as I happen to differ from him in some things. The Resolution, which I rise to second, states, that in the opinion of the Meeting certain

things are causes for congratulation. I am very glad that in these days of iron-clad warships, impregnable fortifications, Whitworth and Armstrong guns, and various formidable missiles, there are some things which are not yet forgotten. I must say that I believe, with many gentlemen on this platform, that there are some things more powerful than guns and iron-clad ships, and that we are called here to-day to exercise the right of public opinion, which has shaken more of the despotisms of the world to their foundations than all the artillery that was ever invented. I believe, therefore, that if public opinion is properly brought to bear upon the great questions at issue to-day, it would not be long before they were settled. I like the tenacity with which the hon. gentleman who has just sat down adheres to his views; but I remember those periods of our history in which the Granville Sharpes, the Clarksons, the Wilberforces, the Buxtons, wrought side by side; and it was a sad day to me when I read the hon. gentleman's speech, in which he first announced opinions from which I entirely dissent. I have had the privilege of travelling in the United States for about five years, and of becoming acquainted with public men and public movements in America. I was there when Mr. Buchanan was elected, and I was there when Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Presidency. On one occasion, when I went into a ragged school to address some poor children, I found that the gentleman who had preceded me was Abraham Lincoln. I say that Abraham Lincoln is a good and a true man. His bitterest enemies have acknowledged that he is an honest man. Mr. Lincoln was an anti-slavery man when it cost him something. Like most anti-slavery men in America, he joined himself with the Republican party—a party to which I may say all the anti-slavery men, except William Lloyd Garrison, and the small band of honest patriots who adhere to him, and will not unite with any political party, belong. And where is hope for the slaves, except in this party? If the South were independent to-morrow, would they liberate the slaves? When we find that those men in America, these extreme abolitionists, who would destroy Slavery even at the peril of the Union, which was so dear to every American—I wonder this has not struck the hon. gentleman before—when these men came around Mr. Lincoln and supported him, was there not some reason to believe that a new era had been introduced, that the slave cause had been overthrown, and that the reign of freedom had begun? I should like to read to you a few sentences from the lips of one of the most distinguished of American citizens, Mr. Wendell Phillips. He says:

"Many times this winter, here and elsewhere, I have counselled peace, urged, as well as I knew how, the expediency of acknowledging a Southern Confederacy, and the peaceful separation of these thirty-four States. One of the journals announces that I have come here this morning to retract these opinions. No, not one of them. I need them all; every word I have spoken this winter, every act of twenty-five years of my life, to make the welcome I give this war hearty and hot. Civil war is a momentous evil." Who

has lamented it so much as the party of freedom in America? Who has done any thing to avert it but the party of freedom in America? "It needs the soundest, most solemn justification. I rejoice before God to-day for every word that I have spoken counselling peace, and I rejoice with an especially profound gratitude that, for the first time in my anti-slavery life, I speak under the stars and stripes, and welcome the tread of Massachusetts men marshalled for war. No matter what the past has been or said; to-day the slave asks God for a sight of his banner, and counts it the pledge of his redemption." Oh, that these words might be said by all those who have sacrificed wealth and friends for the sake of the slave. Oh that they could forget all the wrongs, real and imaginary, all the insults heaped on our country by men nominally in power—the pro-slavery party—and begin a new era from the day of Abraham Lincoln's coming into power. "Hitherto that, however, may have meant what you thought or what I did; to-day it represents sovereignty and justice. The only mistake that I made was in supposing Massachusetts wholly choked with cotton dust and cankered with gold. The South thought her patience and generous willingness for peace were cowardice, to-day shows the mistake. She has been sleeping on her arms since '76, and the first cannon-shot brings her to her feet with the war cry of the Revolution on her lips"—All men are true and equal—"Any man who loves either liberty or manhood must rejoice at such an hour. I have always believed in the sincerity of Abraham Lincoln. You have heard me express my confidence in it every time I have spoken from this place." Now mark: "The Government have waited until its best friends almost suspected its courage or its integrity, but the cannon-shot against Fort Sumter has opened the only door out of this hour." Yes, the only door. Who began the war? "There were but two (doors); one was a compromise, the other was battle. The integrity of the North closed the first; the generous forbearance of the nineteen States closed the other. The South opened this with cannon-shot, and Lincoln shews himself at the door. The war, then, is not aggressive, but in self-defence; and Washington has become the Thermopylae of liberty and justice. Rather than surrender it, cover every square foot of it with a living body, crowd it with a million of men, and empty every bank vault at the North side to pay the cost. Teach the world, once for all, that North America belongs to the stars and stripes, and under them no man shall wear a chain."

These are the sentiments of a man who has laboured and toiled for the emancipation of the slave, and these are the sentiments that are entertained at Washington. Yes, my friends, I rejoice to know, whatever persons may think about it, that there can be no peace till Slavery is abolished. I will not detain you at this late hour. I will only add, that having been spending some three months in the manufacturing districts of our country, I knew that all the influence that can be brought to bear upon the working classes, to induce them to change their opinions as to the cause of the war, is in vain.

They are willing to suffer, aye, to live on 3*d.* a day, so long as the slave can get his freedom. Oh, this mysterious connection between the working classes of England and the poor working classes of the Southern Slave States! Those men, who are receiving no wages for their labour, but are passively waiting for the day of their redemption, have been maligned and misrepresented; but to-day they shew you that they are entitled to their liberty, for they know how to exercise self-command in spite of the opportunity they have had of rising against their masters. Here is noble testimony on behalf of freedom! I rejoice, Sir, to meet the leaders of the *Anti-Slavery Society*. I am not an old man, but I can remember some of their struggles, and I trust that they will now head a glorious crusade on behalf of liberty, and so for ever emancipate the slaves all over the world. I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, as one who has witnessed the horrors of Slavery. There is no British audience in which any one who has seen Slavery in the South would dare to stand up and tell all that he has witnessed. Let me plead with you, therefore, this day, that your voices may be heard, not only in this meeting of your Association, but all over the land, and that the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* will, with the aid of its auxiliaries all over the country, continue to labour, as of old, till the chain shall fall from every slave, and we shall be able to join in one grand hallelujah to Him that reigneth, and who emancipates the slaves.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The SECRETARY, in moving a vote of thanks to George Alexander, Esq., for taking the chair on so short a notice, said that he did not coincide with Mr. Buxton in all the views he had expressed, but that he thought him entitled to their respect, not only for coming forward and stating views which were distasteful to the majority of persons present, but also for acknowledging in so frank and manly a way his mistake on one point on which his apprehensions had been falsified. He (Mr. Chamerovzow) had reason to believe, that if Mr. Buxton could be convinced that he was wrong on the other point, he would be equally ready to acknowledge his error. After all, the great cause could not afford to lose the name of Buxton, nor of any one whose family history was so closely identified with the freedom of the slave.

Mr. R. ALSOP, in seconding the motion, said that it was also due to Lord Brougham to say that he was as hearty as ever in his desire for the extinction of Slavery, but that his position as a member of the House of Lords made him anxious not to appear to espouse either side in America.

The SECRETARY: Lord Brougham told me the other day that he had abstained from being present in the House of Lords during an important discussion, lest he might compromise himself by appearing to be more on one side than the other.

The Resolution was then carried by acclamation, and after a brief acknowledgment from the Chairman, the meeting terminated.

## BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

*General.*—The French Protestant clergy, to the number of 750, recently addressed a letter to their English brethren on the subject of the war in America. They urged that the success of the cause represented by the Confederate States "would put back the progress of Christian civilization and of humanity a whole century;" and called upon the ministers and pastors of all denominations in England to take the lead in calling forth "a great and peaceful manifestation of sympathy for the coloured race so long oppressed and debased by Christian nations."

The following reply has been adopted by a conference of ministers held in London, presided over by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M.A.:

"Dear Brethren,—We, whose names are undersigned, share in your views, rejoice in your zeal, and are thankful for your exhortations. It is honourable to France, and to French Protestantism, that you so heartily wish the destruction of the slave system, which makes 4,000,000 negroes wretched; which debases their masters; which has been a vast calamity to a great Protestant nation, and which dishonours Christ, by whose professed servants it is upheld. Like yourselves, we feel a deep compassion for the slaves, who are a part of the human family: we wish, by all means in our power, to discourage those who are seeking to found an empire on their degradation; and we wish success to all just and humane measures for their deliverance. With these sentiments we beg to assure you, that, following where you have so nobly taken the lead, we shall do what we can to accomplish those benevolent objects to which you invite our attention. Accept our fraternal wishes that you may enjoy the favour and blessing of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Upwards of 1500 ministerial signatures to the reply have been received, and large numbers continue to be received every day. The signatures include many clergymen of the Church of England and Scotland, and Nonconformist ministers of every denomination.

At the monthly meeting of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, held on the 3rd ult., a letter was read from the Foreign Office, acknowledging the receipt of a memorial on the subject of the Foreign Enlistment Act, to the effect "that Her Majesty's Government cannot, on consideration, see how any improvement can be made in that Act." General dissatisfaction at the reply of Earl Russell was expressed, and on the motion of Mr. M. King, seconded by Mr. C. Robertson, the following motion was put and carried:

"That in acknowledging the receipt of Earl Russell's letter, this chamber expresses a hope, that in case further experience, beyond the escape of the *Alabama*, should shew that the Foreign Enlistment Act is not efficient for the accom-



plishment of its object, in which British interests are so deeply involved, immediate steps will be taken to remedy the defect before precedents grow up which may seriously harass this country whenever it is unhappily engaged in war."

On Saturday, May 2nd, at eight P.M., a deputation of trades' unionists attended at the residence of Mr. Adams, the American Minister, in Portland Place, for the purpose of placing in his hands the address to President Lincoln, adopted at the late *Trades' Union Emancipation Society* at St. James's Hall, over which Mr. John Bright, M.P., presided. The deputation consisted of the following members and officers of the trades' unions: Messrs. G. Potter, Richards, Garland, Fest, Petherbridge, Burgess, Mildred, Cromer, Graham, Donner, Payne, South, Magher, Eglinton, Llewellyn, and Merrifield (carpenters' societies), Mr. Mooney (boot closer), Messrs. Osborne and Nieass (plasterers), Mr. Nelson (wire worker), Messrs. French and Dawson (bricklayers), Mr. Shave (plumber), Messrs. Dodstron, Odgers, and Richardson (boot and shoe makers), Mr. Fast (zinc worker), Mr. Facey (painter), Messrs. Grey, Conolly and Gibbons (stonemasons), Mr. Martin (cigar maker), and Mr. Butler (tin-plate worker).

The deputation was accompanied by Mr. Bright, M.P., and E. S. Beesly, Esq., Professor of Political Economy at University College.

Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., having introduced the deputation to Mr. Adams, said: Your Excellency, the deputation I have the honour of introducing before you is one appointed at a meeting of trades' unionists, held in St. James's Hall on the 24th of April last, over which I had the honour and pleasure to preside, for the purpose of expressing their abhorrence of the American institution of Slavery, their disapprobation of the rebellion of the Southern States of that country, their sympathy with the North in its efforts to put down that rebellion, and their admiration of the general policy—more particularly that relating to Slavery—pursued by President Lincoln, to whom they had adopted an address of sympathy and congratulation, which they now desire to place in the hands of your Excellency for transmission to Mr. Lincoln. The trades unions are not political bodies: they are bodies of operatives united together to promote and defend their social interests; and I believe this is the first occasion on which they have come out, as a united body, to publicly express an opinion on a political question; and it therefore proves how deep an interest they must have felt in it. I think it is a pity that these important bodies of society men do not more frequently interest themselves about great public questions, which I believe they might

do with great advantage to the public and profit to themselves.

Mr. Cremer (joiner, and Secretary to the meeting) read the address, and Messrs. Conolly, Potter, Odgers, Petherbridge, Facey, Grey, Murray, Nieass, and Professor Beesly, severally addressed His Excellency in support of the policy of Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. ADAMS, having expressed the pleasure he felt at seeing so numerous a deputation of workmen before him, said: Gentlemen, I accept with pleasure the duty you have imposed upon me in receiving your address to the chief of my Government. Representing as I do my country in England, you must be aware that I stand outside all local questions; therefore it is not my province to express dissatisfaction or satisfaction with those persons or parties in England who may express their opinions upon America. If there are some persons in this country who from prejudice or ignorance put a harsh construction on the conduct of the American Government, it is not my place to find fault or my right to criticise. It is, however, my duty to accept from the representatives of any body of Englishmen their favourable sentiments towards the Government I represent, and to reciprocate the frank, manly, and independent spirit in which they have been tendered. I understand, gentlemen, you attend here as representing large bodies of working men who advocate and uphold the rights of labour, and it is therefore but natural you should look with dislike upon any parties, in whatever country they may exist, who infringe on those rights. You perceive, that in the struggle now going on in America an attempt is being made to establish a Government on the destruction of the rights of labour—a Government of physical power to take away the rights of labour. It is a question above all local right, it is a general principle; and therefore, though taking place in a foreign country, you have a right to express your opinion thereon. Gentlemen, I accept the duty you impose upon me with great pleasure, the more so as you have taken advantage of the occasion to speak on the question of war. I agree generally with your views on the subject. But with two nations of the same race, of the same high spirit, both feeling a natural pride in their superiority on the ocean, I think it almost impossible, under existing circumstances, to prevent some things springing up that might occasion a collision. I therefore concur with you, gentlemen, as to the necessity for great forbearance being exhibited by both countries and Governments in construing the actions of each other. I trust that, in spite of all that has occurred, there is, in the Government of each country, a sufficient sense of responsibility which will induce them to maintain friendly

relations with each other. There must naturally be a feeling of pride—of fear—lest one nation should appear to refrain from properly resenting what it might deem to be an offence from the other; and in this feeling lies the great danger. I feel confident, however, that if the two peoples and the two Governments would speak together in the same sense, in the same frank and unreserved tones as you have spoken to me this evening, all fear of any collision would be at end. I can assure you, that notwithstanding the speeches of some of my countrymen, notwithstanding the writings in some of the American journals, there is no nation under the sun to which America entertains a greater regard than England; and if the real sentiments of the people of each country can be clearly established to each other, I shall have no fear of their coming into collision. I believe, gentlemen, you have taken the right course to produce this desirable understanding, and I undertake with great pleasure the duty of transmitting your address to President Lincoln.

The deputation having thanked Mr. Adams for his courteous reception, and Mr. Bright for his kindness in attending, then retired.

In the House of Commons, on Tuesday 12th ult., Mr. P. A. Taylor presented the following petition from the Committee of the *London Emancipation Society*, signed by Mr. Evans, the chairman of the Committee:

"That your petitioners are the executive of a Society established to counteract the alleged sympathy of this country with the so-called Confederate States of America, and especially to encourage the United-States' Government in the prosecution of an emancipation policy. That your petitioners recognise in the rebellion of the slaveholders in the Southern States of America an attempt, as admitted by themselves, to found a government upon Slavery as its corner-stone, and therefore upon principles which the civilized world has long pronounced to be infamous and inimical to the rights and welfare of mankind; and your petitioners, under these circumstances, regard all attempts to afford assistance or support to the Southern Confederacy by the supply of ships, arms, or money, as an offence against morality, and worthy of the deepest reprobation. That during the past five months the views held by your petitioners have been endorsed by resolutions adopted at large public meetings held in London, Manchester, Liverpool, York, and more than sixty other important towns in England and Scotland. That in defiance of this expression of public opinion, and in direct violation of the provisions of the Foreign Emancipation Act, and of Her Majesty's proclamation of neutrality, war vessels have been built and equipped in this country, and despatched from it for the purpose of being employed in the service of the Confederate slaveholders against the Government and people of the United States, and, as in the case of the *Alabama*, have become a disgrace and

scandal to humanity, by preying upon and wantonly destroying unarmed and defenceless vessels engaged in peaceful commerce. That your petitioners regard such proceedings with shame and indignation, and also with earnest solicitude, as being calculated to seriously and wickedly imperil the prospects of peace between two kindred nations, as well as to add immeasurably to the horrors of that warfare, which a criminal ambition to perpetuate the sin and barbarism of Slavery as the means of empire has provoked in America. That your petitioners have learned with the utmost satisfaction the steps which have been adopted by Her Majesty's Government in the matter of the *Alexandra*, with a view to prevent the continuance of these illegal and nefarious practices. Your petitioners therefore pray your honourable House to support Her Majesty's Government in taking all necessary measures for the enforcement of the law, and the vindication of the spirit and principles of neutrality declared in Her Majesty's proclamation, and for the further prevention of acts dishonourable to the national character, hostile to the interests of freedom, and destructive of all the blessings of peace."

The following is the reply which has been sent by the President to the Address adopted at the Exeter-Hall Emancipation Meeting on the 29th January last:

"Department of State, Washington,  
25th April 1863.

"To the Citizens of London who were convened in Exeter Hall on the 29th January last.

"The proceedings of a meeting of British subjects, citizens of London, in Exeter Hall, on the 29th of January last, which were transmitted to the undersigned, have, in compliance with a request contained therein, been laid before the President of the United States.

"It would have been most gratifying to the President if the insurrection which is existing in the United States could have been confined within such bounds as to prevent it from disturbing the prosperity or otherwise engaging the attention of friendly nations. Fully convinced that any State which suffers itself to become dependent on the aid, or even the sympathy, of a foreign Power, is equally unable and unfit to live, the President has been especially careful to refrain from making any appeal to friendly States, and even from seeming to attempt to influence their opinions upon the merits of the present conflict farther than has appeared to be necessary to avert ill-considered and wrongful intervention. At the same time the President has neither questioned the right of other nations and communities to form and express their opinions concerning the merits of the questions raised by the insurrection, and the policy which the Government has adopted in suppressing it, nor has he complained of the manner in which that right has been exercised. On the contrary, he believes that the ultimate and impartial judgment of mankind upon all such questions is en-

titled to universal respect and acquiescence.

"Circumstances which neither this Government nor that of Great Britain created or could control have rendered it unavoidable that the causes, character, tendency, and objects of the insurrection should be discussed in that country with scarcely less freedom and earnestness than in our own. The results of that discussion, if it shall continue to be conducted in a just and impartial spirit, may be taken as foreshadowing in some degree the ultimate judgment of mankind. It is therefore with sincere satisfaction that the President learns, from the proceedings now under consideration, that a large, respectable, and intelligent portion of the British people have, on unprompted investigation, arrived at the conclusion that the existing rebellion violates the principles of political justice, and that they protest against it as a wrong to the human race, because it seeks to displace a Government which is based on the rights of man, to make room for the establishment of another, which is to rest upon human bondage as its corner-stone.

"The President would do injustice to his habitual sentiments if he were to omit to express also the satisfaction with which he has found that in all cases those who are most just in their sentiments towards the United States are also the most earnest in their desire for the preservation of international peace and friendship. This circumstance supplies to this Government a new motive for adhering to its determined policy of peace, justice, and friendship towards all nations, and especially towards Great Britain.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your very obedient servant,

(Signed) "WILLIAM H. SEWARD."

The Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce discussed on Monday, the 18th ult., the propriety of asking Government whether neutral ships carrying neutral property to neutral ports were liable to capture and condemnation, on the ground of the ultimate destination of the cargo. Mr. Chilton, ex-President of the Chamber, said, that at the present moment, as might be expected, there was a large trade carried on between this country and neutral ports bordering on the line of blockade established by the Federal Government of America, and as this trade might, to a great extent, be carried on with perfect innocence, it was expedient to check the growing desire to favour the extension of belligerent rights, under the idea that such extension would be of great value to this country when engaged in war. Sir William Brown and several members of the council suggested that the law was perfectly clear upon the subject, and that any injustice done to "innocent" trading would speedily be repaired. Ultimately it was agreed to leave the matter where it stood.

On Tuesday evening, April 28th, a large meeting was held in the City Hall, Glasgow, to receive a deputation from the *Manchester Union and Emancipation Society*; also, to protest against building ships of war and supplying British capital to aid and abet the Southern Slaveholders' Confederacy. The chair was occupied by Professor Nichol; and on the platform were Professors Caird and Rogers, Councillors Moir, Burt, and Alexander, the Rev. Messrs. Calderwood and Crosskey, Messrs. Wm. Smeal and Andrew Paton; also, the members of the deputation, the Rev. J. W. Massie, D.D. LL.D., and George Thompson, Esq., London, &c. Professor Nichol opened the proceedings by an able exposition of the importance of the occasion, and was followed by the members of the deputation. The following resolutions were then moved by the Rev. Hugh Riddell, and seconded by Mr. James Stevenson:

(1.) "That this meeting entertains the most cordial goodwill towards the people of the Free States of America, and desires to express anew its sympathy with them in their efforts to extend to all the population of the United States the rights of freemen and citizens, and trusts that soon no slave may remain among them as a reproach to the principle of self-government."

(2.) "That this meeting feels humiliation and concern in view of its being notorious that certain persons in Britain, including members of Parliament, have been and are engaged in illegally providing and furnishing war ships, and British capitalists supplying money, in aid of the Southern Slaveholders' Confederacy, at the imminent risk of provoking a war between America and this country."

(3.) "That this meeting solemnly protests against such proceedings, and earnestly calls upon Her Majesty's Government to evince its good faith towards a friendly Power, and vindicate British law and honour by putting an effectual stop to these nefarious transactions, and duly prosecuting the guilty perpetrators."

Mr. J. R. ROGER, amid a good deal of interruption, expressed his doubts as to whether the North was in earnest on the slave question. He could not, he said, give them credit for such new-born zeal in the matter. He moved an amendment to the following effect: "That this meeting, approving of the conduct of Lord Palmerston and the other members of the Government, in relation to the civil war in America, would express its confidence in their wisdom and discretion; and that while they (Her Majesty's Ministers) will give no just cause of offence to these States, they will in all their measures seek to maintain the moral dignity and the material interests of these realms."



The amendment was seconded by a gentleman whose name did not transpire, and who had great difficulty in obtaining a hearing.

On the amendment being put to the meeting, a few hands were held up in its favour. The resolutions were afterwards put, and declared to be carried by an immense majority.

Councillor BURT then moved: "That a petition to the House of Commons, and a memorial to Earl Russell, founded on the foregoing resolutions, be prepared and signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting; and that the petition be entrusted to the City Members for presentation to the House of Commons, and the memorial to Earl Russell be transmitted to him by the Chairman."

Dr. WILLIAM YOUNG seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

On Thursday evening, April 30th, the Rev. Newman Hall delivered a lecture on the American question, in Hope Street Chapel, Hull. The attendance was overflowing.

A meeting at Bacup, attended by nearly 800 men, a large proportion led by Mr. Barker, the secularist, was held on Wednesday evening, the 6th ult., Joshua Lord, Esq., in the chair. The assembly was convened to hear addresses from George Thomson, Esq., and the Rev. Dr. Massie.

On the 7th ult., a crowded and enthusiastic meeting, under the auspices of the *Emancipation Society*, was held in the Cross Street Church Schoolroom, Islington. The Rev. A. C. Thomas presided. Resolutions were unanimously passed condemnatory of Slavery, and approving of the emancipation policy of the United-States' Government, and strongly protesting against the conduct of those who supply ships, arms, and money for the slaveholders' Confederacy. Eloquent addresses were delivered by the Rev. A. C. Thomas, the Rev. Sella Martin, the Rev. J. H. Rylance, of St. Paul's Church, Westminster, by E. Beales, Esq., and by M. D. Conway, Esq., of Eastern Virginia. A petition to the House of Commons, calling upon the members thereof to support Her Majesty's Government in its efforts to enforce the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, was adopted.

On Wednesday, the 13th, a meeting at the Hanover-Square Rooms, under the auspices of the *Emancipation Society*, for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the political relations between England and America, and to protest against the efforts of members of Parliament to drag this country into a war with the United States, and to demand the enforcement of the law against the builders of pirate ships. The Rev. W. Landels occupied the chair, and amongst those on the platform were Mr. G.

Thompson, Mr. J. W. Probyn, Mr. T. Hughes (author of *Tom Brown*), Mr. J. Nicholay, Mr. J. Beal, Mr. W. T. Malleson, the Rev. S. Martin, Mr. J. Gorrie, Mr. D. M. Conway, Mr. J. Noble, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Wainwright, Dr. Lankester, &c. Mr. James Beal moved, and Mr. J. W. Probyn seconded, the following resolution, which was supplied by Mr. D. M. Conway, of Virginia:

"That this meeting believing Slavery to be anti-Christian, and opposed to every principle of justice and humanity, cordially approve of the emancipation policy now being carried out by the Government of the United States, and offers to the people of the loyal States the assurance of its heartfelt sympathy in the present struggle against the despotism sought to be perpetuated and extended by the slaveholders' Confederacy."

The second resolution\* was moved by Mr. W. T. Malleson, and seconded by Mr. T. Hughes.

## WHOLESALE MASSACRE OF FREED NEGROES.

THE subjoined horrible account of the deliberate massacre of a number of Freed men is extracted from a recent American paper. What would the pro-slavery organs of the British press have said had the victims been Confederates and the assassins negroes escaping from Slavery?

### CONFEDERATE BARBARITY.

"Large numbers of escaped slaves have been sent to the Free States of Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas, where they are eagerly hired by the farmers. Ninety of these negroes, who had come into the Federal lines south of Memphis, were sent to Cairo, thence to St. Louis, and thence, by the steamer *Sam Gaty*, up the Missouri River en route to Kansas. What befel these poor freed men at the hands of the rebel guerillas is told in the following extract from the weekly *Missouri Republican* of April 10th. This is a pro-slavery newspaper (published at San Louis, Missouri, and has a larger circulation than any other newspaper published west of the Mississippi River:

"On Monday we published a short account by telegraph of the seizure of the steamboat *Sam Gaty*, at Sibley's Landing, on the Missouri River, which was accompanied by outrages of the most barbarous and inhuman character. The *St. Joseph Herald* learns the following additional particulars from an eye-witness:

"The steamboat had arrived at Sibley's Landing, where the channel was close to shore, and was hailed by some men on the bank, followed by the cracking of a dozen or more guns. The pilot put her in shore, and George Todd and about twenty-five of his gang of guerillas came

\* No copy of this resolution was published in the *Sheet*, from which our report is taken.—Ed A.S.R.

aboard. It was almost morning, and there was no moon. The rebels were dressed in butternut, having a pair of Colt's navy revolvers each (and some as many as three and four) and shot-guns and rifles. Todd wore a large cloth coat, with an ample cape and flowing sleeves, and had also a slouched hat, which he soon exchanged with a passenger for a new light-coloured beaver. He gave the command, and the work of murder commenced. The passengers were mostly ladies, and the few gentlemen were unarmed.

"They first killed George Meyer by shooting him in the back. Meyer was formerly in this city, and when Colonel Peabody was here after the siege of Lexington he was in Major Berry's cavalry command, acting as quartermaster. For a time he was serjeant-major of the Fifth Cavalry, Colonel Penick. During the last winter he was frequently engaged, with Assistant Secretary Rodman, in the Senate at Jefferson City, in writing up the journal. He was a young man of the most generous impulses, and will be mourned by a large number of men, who will avenge his death.

"The cowardly butchers next blew out the brains of William Henry, a member of Captain Wakerlin's company. He, too, was a St. Joseph boy, and was formerly engaged in a stall in our city market, and at one time, we think, laboured for John P. Hax, a meat dealer. He leaves a wife and four children in our city wholly unprovided for.

"They next led out to slaughter young Schuttner, of this town, whom they first robbed of 200 dols, then shot. He revived the next morning, and will probably recover.

"The most revolting act in the bloody drama was the ordering ashore of twenty negroes, drawing them up in line, one man holding a lantern up by the side of their faces, while the murderers shot them, one by one, through the head. This inhuman butchery was within three yards of the boat. One negro alone of all that were shot is alive.

"Christ. Habacher, who lives near Hamilton's Mill, in this city, was aboard, but managed to hide his money and got off scot free. Charley, formerly bar-keeper for Christian Wagner, in Jefferson City, was robbed of every dollar he had, some 400 dols. George Schriver of this city was led out to be shot, and a watchman on the boat hallooed, "Hold on there, he is one of my deck hands," and they led him back, taking 72 dols. from him, being all that he had, except 20 dols. which he had secreted on the boat.

"George Morenstecker, who has for several years been a grocer on the corner of Tenth Street and Frederick Avenue, in this city, and who was recently a captain in the Thirty-third Missouri, but has resigned, was robbed of 1060 dols. and his gold watch.

"The affair ended by the gang going aboard the boat, and compelling the passengers to throw overboard fifty waggon beds, 100 sacks of flour, and a large amount of other stores, including

coffee, sugar, &c. Wearing apparel of ladies and gentlemen was indiscriminately plundered.

"There were about eighty contrabands on board, sent on their way to Kansas by General Curtis. Sixty jumped off, and ran away, and are now under Colonel Penick, whose men are scouring the country for these murderers. When the guerillas drew their revolvers on the negroes they stood in line. The women on the boat screamed and cried, and begged them not to kill them, but the work of death went on."

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